

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 05824 01 OF 02 211514Z

53

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01

ACDA-07 IO-13 EB-07 COME-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /099 W
----- 031349

O R 211415Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5427

INFO USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 5824

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IN, CH

SUBJ: SINO-CINDIAN RELATIONS

REF: NEW DELHI 5571

1. INDIAN AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO PEKING, K.R. NARAYANAN,
TOLD POLCOUNSELOR APRIL 19 THAT REESTABLISHMENT OF SINO-
INDIAN AMBASSADORIAL RELATIONS HAD MOVED AHEAD AT THIS TIME
BECAUSE OF GREATER CHINESE REPONSIVENESS. NARAYANAN HAD
SAID CHINESE HAD OFFERED NO ASSURANCES AS TO WHEN THEY WOULD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 05824 01 OF 02 211514Z

SEND AMBASSADOR TO NEW DELHI BUT HAD INDICATED THERE WOULD

BE AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE. (MEA JOINT SECRETARY (EAST ASIA) N.N. JHA, ON THE OTHER HAND, TOLD POLCOUNSELOR APRIL 20 THAT CHINESE HAD OFFERED GOI ASSURANCE THAT AMBASSADOR WOULD BE SENT TO INDIA "SOON" AFTER INDIAN AMBASSADOR REACHED PEKING.) NARAYANAN SAID HE AND OTHER IN MEA HAD IN FACT BEEN SURPRISED WHEN PRC PUBLICLY CONFIRMED APRIL 17 THAT THEY WOULD SENT ABMASSADOR TO NEW DELHI.

2. NARAYANAN AND JHA SEPARATLEY OBSERVED THAT GOI HOPED RESTORATION OF AMBASSADORIAL RELATIONS WOULD HAVE SALUTARY EFFECT ON INDIAN RELATIONS WITH SEA AND WOULD BE WELOMCEDED BY COUNTRIES IN SUBCONTINENT OTHER THAN PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH. NARAYANAN THOUGHT CHINESE MIGHT TAKE MORE CAUTIOUS APPROACH TOWARD PAKISTAN AND SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ARMS SUPPLY AS AREA WHICH INDIA WOULD WATCH CAREFULLY. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, WOULD BE GENERAL CHINESE POSTURE TOWARD PAKISTAN AND EXTENT TO WHICH CHINESE AUTOMATICALLY BACKED PAKISTAN ON ALL SUBCONTINENTAL ISSUES. JHA OBSERVED THAT ONE OF KEY ELEMENTS IN LEADING INDIANS TO CONCLUDE CHINESE WERE SERIOUS ABOUT MOVING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WAS "POSITIVE" COMMENT BY CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER TO INDIAN CHARGE MEHROTRA IN MARCH ON SUBJECT OF FARAKKA BARAGE WATER DISPUTE BETWEEN INDIAN AND BANGLADESH. CHINESE HAD EXPRESSED HOPE BANGLADESH AND INDIA WOULD PEACEFULLY RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES SINCE BOTH WERE "FRIENDLY COUNTRIES."

3. JHA DECLINED TO SPECULATE ON CHINESE MOTIVES, BUT NARAYANAN THOUGHT MAIN CHINESE OBJECTIVE WAS TO LESSEN SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SUBCONTINENT. NARAYANAN AND JHA AGREED THAT SOVIETS WERE "NOT TERRIBLY ENTHUSIASTIC" ABOUT INDIAN DECISION BUT WOULD WAIT AND WATCH TO SEE HOW RELATIONS WITH CHINA WORKED OUT IN PRACTICE. NARAYANAN SAID SOVIETS HAD BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO SAY ANYTHING CRITICAL TO INDIANS ABOUT THE INDIAN MOVE. EMBASSY HAS NOTED THAT NEITHER CPI WEEKLY NEW AGE NOR DAILY PRO-CPI PATRIOT HAS COMMENTED THUS FAR ON DECISION TO EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS. NARAYANAN TOLD POLCOUNSELOR THAT CPI GENERAL SECRETARY RAJESHWAR RAO HAD SAID THAT HE SAW NO BENEFIT TO INDIA FROM SENDING AN AMBASSADOR TO CHINA, BUT EMBASSY HAS NOT SEEN RAO'S STATEMENT PRINTED ANYWHERE THUS FAR.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 05824 01 OF 02 211514Z

4. NARAYANAN DISCOUNTED LIKELIHOOD THAT CHINESE MOVE WAS MOTIVATED BY INDIRECT INTENTION OF SIGNALING SOVIETS THAT PRC INTERESTED IN IMPROVING SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. JHA ALSO THOUGHT THIS WAS A FAR-FETCHED THEORY. SOVIET EMBASSY FIRST SECRETARY SKRITSKY AND POLCOUNSELOR FIALKOWSKY, HOWEVER, TOLD EMBASSY IT WAS CONCEIVABLE SUCH AN IDEA HAD CROSSED CHINESE MINDS. FIALKOWSKY SAID HE HAD

IMPRESSION SOME INDIANS (NOT MEA), WERE SUGGESTING SOVIETS
SHOULD BE PLEASED AT INDIAN MOVE, SINCE INDIANS COULD
ACT AS "INTERMEDIARY" FOR SOVIETS WITH CHINESE.
SKRITSKY (BUT NOT
FAILKOWSKY) SPECULATED INITIATIVE FOR AMBASSADORIAL
RELATIONS HAD COME FROM INDIANS AND ORIGINATED OVER INDIAN
FEAR THAT BORDER ISSUE WOULD BE STIRRED UP AGAIN AFTER
OCTOBER 1975 INCIDENT. JHA TOTALLY REJECTED THIS THESIS,
NOTING THAT IT HAD BEEN SIGNIFICANT CHINESE HAD MADE
EVERY EFFORT TO MUTE THAT INCIDENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 05824 02 OF 02 211536Z

53

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01

ACDA-07 IO-13 EB-07 COME-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /099 W

----- 031554

O R 211415Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5428

INFO USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 5824

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. NARAYANAN SAID THAT INDIANS HAD NOT RAISED SUBJECT OF NORTHEASTERN INSURGENCIES FOR LAST FOUR YEARS WITH CHINESE AND HE (AND JHA) DID NOT EXPECT CHINESE ASSISTANCE IN TRAINING AND SOME ARMS FOR INSURGENTS TO BECOME AN ISSUE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IF THE INSURGENCY WORSENEED, NARAYANAN SAID, THEN WE MIGHT HAVE TO SAY SOMETHING. IN THE SAME WAY, THE INDIANS CONTINUED TO HAVE THE DALI LAMA ON THEIR HANDS AND THESE TWO ISSUES IN A WAY, NARAYANAN SUGGESTED, BALANCED ONE ANOTHER.

6. NARAYANAN AND JHA BOTH INSISTED THAT GOI HAD MADE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 05824 02 OF 02 211536Z

NO DECISIONS ON WHAT ISSUES WOULD COME NEXT IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. NARAYANAN THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT TRADE WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE. JHA SAID THERE WERE NO IMMEDIATE GOI PLANS TO CHANGE INDIAN RELATIONS WHICH IN EFFECT PROHIBIT SINO-INDIAN TRADE, BUT THAT THIS MIGHT CHANGE BY THE TIME OF THE OCTOBER 1976 CANTON FAIR. HE ANTICIPATED THERE WOULD BE SOME INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES AT THAT FAIR TO "LOOK AROUND," AND DEPENDING ON WHAT HAPPENED TRADE RESTRICTIONS MIGHT THEN BE RELAXED. NARAYANAN THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE SOME INCREASED TRAVEL TOWARDS THE END OF THE YEAR AND NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF HIS JOURNALIST FRIENDS HAD ALREADY BEEN AROUND TO ASK HIM FOR INVITATIONS TO VISIT PEKING. NARAYANAN AND JHA BOTH THOUGHT IT UNLIKELY THAT AN EXCHANGE OF JOURNALISTS (NCNA FOR SAMACHAR) WOULD TAKE PLACE SOON. SIMILARLY, TALKS ON THE BORDER WERE LIKELY TO BE A LONG WAY DOWN THE ROAD, IF AT ALL. BOTH JHA AND NARAYANAN EMPHASIZED THAT THE INDIAN APPROACH WOULD BE TO GO SLOW AND THEY THOUGHT THE CHINESE WOULD WANT TO FOLLOW THE SAME COURSE. WITH NARAYANAN NOT ARRIVING UNTIL JULY AND A CHINESE AMBASSADOR LIKELY IN NEW DELHI A MONTH OR TWO LATER, THEY FELT THERE WOULD IN ALL EVENTS BE A NEED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS FOR BOTH SIDES TO "SETTLE IN" AND NO SIGNIFICANT FURTHER MOVES WERE LIKELY UNTIL THE END OF THE YEAR (OTHER THAN THE TRADE FAIR VISIT).

7. CHINESE EMBOFF TOLD UK HIGH COMMISSION OFFICER APRIL 21 THAT DECISION ON AMBASSADORIAL EXCHANGES HAD COME FROM INDIAN INITIATIVE AND THAT THIS STEMMED FROM INDIAN INTEREST IN INFLUENCING CHINESE POSITION ON SUBCONTINENT AND PROBLEMS IN INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS (UNSPECIFIED). CHINESE AGREED WITH UK HICOMM OFFICER'S HYPOTHESIS THAT INDIAN EMERGENCY HAD MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR INDIANS TO MOVE AT THIS TIME, WHEREAS THEY HAD NOT PICKED UP EARLIER HINTS OF CHINESE WILLINGNESS TO "NORMALIZE" RELATIONS LAST YEAR. CHINESE SAID HE DID NOT EXPECT THAT INDIANS WOULD MAKE ANY REALLY SIGNIFICANT EFFORT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN.

8. COMMENT: THE INDIAN COMMENTS SEEM VERY PLAUSIBLE TO US. WHAT WE ARE LESS CERTAIN OF IS WHETHER THE CHINA MOVE AND MRS GANDHI'S INITIATIVE TO PAKISTAN (CONVEYING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 05824 02 OF 02 211536Z

A WILLINGNESS TO AT LEAST DISCUSS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS) (SEPTTEL) MAY BE RELATED. SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE DELHI DIPLOMATIC CORPS THINK THEY ARE. CERTAINLY IT WOULD FIT IN WITH NARAYANAN'S VIEW THAT THE INDIANS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THE CHINESE TAKE A SOMWHAT MORE CAREFUL APPROACH TOWARD DEALING WITH PAKISTAN IF THE INDIANS WERE THEMSELVES TO TAKE A PUBLICLY MORE RELAXED AND CONCILIATORY POSTURE TOWARD PAKISTAN.

9. WHILE INDIAN EMERGENCY RELIEVES GOI OF BURDEN OF ANY DOMESTIC CRITICISM OF MOVES, WE DO NOT SUBSCRIBE TO VIEW DESCRIBED PARA 7 ABOVE THAT INDIAN DESIGNATION OF AMBASSADOR WAS POSSIBLE NOW LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE EMERGENCY. VISIT OF CHINESE PING-PONG TEAM LAST YEAR BEFORE EMERGENCY ELICITED LITTLE BUT FAVORABLE COMMENTS FROM POLITICIANS AND PRESS AND GOI COULD EASILY HAVE MOVED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS AT THAT TIME AS NOW WITH LITTLE ADVERSE POLITICAL FALLOUT.

10. THE SINO-INDIAN MOVE IS BOTH SENSIBLE AND USEFUL IN TERMS OF INCREASING THE BALANCE OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND DIMINISHING SUBCONTINENTAL TENSIONS. THE SHORT-TERM EFFECT ON INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS WILL PROBABLY NOT BE LARGE BUT THE SOVIETS MUST BE AWARE THAT THE INDIANS HENCEFORTH MAY BE MORE MINDFUL OF CHINESE SENSITIVITIES WHEN THEY DEAL WITH THE SOVIETS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES AND IN ISSUING JOINT STATEMENTS. SAXBE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976NEWDE05824
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760163-0408
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760439/aaaabguc.tel
Line Count: 259
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 NEW DELHI 5571
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <05 MAY 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <02 SEP 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SINO-CINDIAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, CH, IN, (NARAYANAN, K R)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006